

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8811
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2576/1

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, CI
SUBJ: TALKING WITH THE CHILEAN OPPOSITION: BOSSAY'S RADICALS

REFS: (A) SANTIAGO 1886 (B) SANTIAGO 969 (C) LONDON 5346

1. SUMMARY: AMONG THE DIVERSE WINGS OF CHILEAN RADICAL-ISM, ELDER STATESMAN LUIS BOSSAY CONTROLS THE GROUP MOST CLOSELY AFFILIATED WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. DURING A RECENT LUNCHEON WITH THE AMBASSADOR, BOSSAY SHOWED NO LOVE FOR THE CEN RADICALS WHO ALSO FLIRT WITH THE PDC, BUT HAD KIND WORDS FOR DEMOCRATIC RADICAL ENRIQUE MARTINEZ SOTOMAYOR AND THE NATIONAL PARTY'S FRANCISCO BULNES AS CIVILIAN FIGUREHEADS FOR A TRANSITION REGIME. BOSSAY DWELT ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO GERMANY TO DEMONSTRATE HIS APPEAL TO SUCH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AS WILLIE BRANDT. FROM BOSSAY'S "YOUTH WING" WE HAVE HEARD SOME GRIPEs ABOUT HIS CONTINUING INSISTENCE ON RUNNING DAY-TO-DAY PARTY AFFAIRS. WE CAME AWAY WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT BOSSAY IS FIGHT-A REAR GUARD ACTION, ALTHOUGH HIS BAND MIGHT HAVE A USEFUL ROLE DURING A TRANSITION TO CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. IN 1971, AFTER FORTY DISENCHANTING DAYS AS A PART
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OF THE UNIDAD POPULAR COALITION, LUIS BOSSAY AND A NUMBER OF MODERATE RADICALS BROKE AWAY FROM THE PR AND FORMED THE LEFTIST RADICAL PARTY A PIR (AN INTENTIONAL MIS-NOMER AIMED AT BLURRING THE OBVIOUS FACT THAT THE DISSIDENTS WERE MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN THE PR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (PR CEN) OF ANSELMO SULE AND HUGO MORALES. EVENTUALLY THE BOSSAY GROUP JOINED THE ANTI-

ALLENDE COALITION AND IN AUGUST, 1973, RE-NAMED THEMSELVES THE CHILEAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PSD). AFTER THE 1973 COUP, THE PIR/PSD ESTABLISHED CLOSE TIES WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.

3. THESE DAYS THE PORTLY, BALDING BOSSAY AND A SMALL COTERIE ARE TRYING TO MAINTAIN THEIR POSITION AS THE PDC'S PRINCIPAL BRIDGE TO THE ANTI-CLERICAL CENTER. POLITICIANS BEGIN EMERGING FROM HIBERNATION, THE PIR/PSD FINDS ITSELF IN COMPETITION WITH ORLANDO CANTUARIAS' PR CEN AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, THE CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATIC REDICALS CLUSTERED AROUND EITHER GENERAL LEIGH OR PINOCHET.

4. DURING A LUNCHEON APRIL 3, BOSSAY OVERSHADOWED HIS THREE LIEUTENANTS (INDEED ONE OF THEM, YOUTH LEADER PAPI, LET US KNOW AFTERWARD THAT HE WAS UNHAPPY) AS HE REMINISCED ABOUT THE PAST AND SPECULATED ON THE FUTURE. BOSSAY BELIEVES THAT CHILE'S TRANSITION TO CIVILIAN RULE IS BEING HASTENED BY EXTERNAL FACTORS--SPECIFICALLY THE COUNTRY'S ISOLATION AT A TIME WHEN IT IT AT LOGGERHEADS WITH ITS THREE NEIGHBORS. THE FINAL STRAW IS THE LETELIER AFFAIR, WHICH CHILEANS WILL ASSUME INVOLVES PINOCHET. HOWEVER, CHILE NEEDS A TRANSITIONAL CIVILIAN/MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR THE TIME BEING; THE DEMOCRATIC CENTER IS NOT NOW READY TO ASSUME THE GOVERNMENT AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE MILITARY ARE NOT READY TO LET GO.

5. A PRIME CANDIDATE TO SERVE AS THE TRANSITIONAL CIVILIAN LEADER, ACCORDING TO BOSSAY, MIGHT BE PN LEADER (NOW AMBASSADOR TO PERU, FRANCISCO BULNES. OTHERS, SUCH AS DR LEADER ENRIQUE MARTINEZ SOTOMAYOR (ONE OF THE GUESTS AT OUR DR LUNCHEON--SEE REF A), MIGHT ALSO TAKE ON THAT ROLE.

6. BOSSAY CORRECTLY SEES THE PR CEN DOMESTIC FACTION, CONTROLLED BY ORLANDO CANTUARIAS, AS ITS IMMEDIATE COMPETITOR. CANTUARIAS (WITH WHOM WE WILL BE LUNCHING NEXT WEEK) TELLS US THAT HE HAS WRESTED CONTROL OF THE PR FROM THE EXILES LED BY SULE; THAT SULE HAS COME AROUND TO CANTUARIAS' VIEW THAT PARTICIPATION IN A DEMOCRATIC CENTER COALITION IS MORE LIKELY TO BRING THE PR BACK INTO A POSITION OF INFLUENCE THAN CONTINUED ASSOCIATION WITH THE UP EXILES' CALL FOR VIOLENT RESTORATION OF AUP-TYPE REGIME. CANTUARIAS ALSO INSISTS THAT HE HAS MENDED HIS FENCES WITH THE PIR/PSD AND THE PDC. (SEE REF B). BOSSAY WOULD HAVE NONE OF IT. IN HIS VIEW CANTUARIAS AND SULE TYPIFY THE OPPORTUNISM THAT DESTROYED CHILEAN RADICALISM; THEY ARE CUT FROM THE SAME CLOTH AND NOW

HAVE DECIDED TO PLAY WITH THE PDC IN CHILE WHILE HANGING OUT WITH UP ABROAD. BESIDES SULE, ET. AL., ARE CROOKS, POCKETING THE MONEY DOLED OUT TO THEM BY DUTCH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. BOSSAY RECOUNTED A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH ANIBAL PALMA IN GERMANY AS EVIDENCE THAT THE PR CEN STILL BELIEVES IN VIOLENT REVOLUTION. (COMMENT: EVEN CATUARIAS CONSIDERS PALMA BEYOND THE PALE).

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2576/2

7. BOSSAY RECOUNTED AT LENGTH ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO GERMANY TO MEET WILLIE BRANDT AND HIS SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. BRANDT, ACCORDING TO BOSSAY, WOULD LIKE TO WEAN THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL AWAY FROM SUPPORT FOR CHILEAN SOCIALISTS AND THE PR CEN, BUT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO DO SO. EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS MISUNDERSTAND THE REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY OF LATIN SOCIALISTS, PARTICULARLY CHILEAN ONES. THUS THE SI HAS EXTENDED FULL MEMBERSHIP TO LATIN AMERICAN PARTIES OF MARXIST-LENINIST INSPIRATION AND GIVEN ONLY OBSERVER STATUS TO THEIR TRUE KINDRED SPIRITS SUCH AS THE PIR, APRA AND AD. BRANDT ALLEGEDLY TOLD BOSSAY THAT THE BRITISH, AT LEAST, HAVE BEGUN TO UNDERSTAND THE PHENOMENON AND ARE DRIFTING TOWARDS BRANDT'S VIEW.

8. EVEN WITHIN THE PIR/PSD FACTIONS EXIST, ALTHOUGH NONE ARE NOW PREPARED TO CHALLENGE FRONTALLY BOSSAY'S LEADERSHIP. SOME EX-CONGRESSMEN, TYPIFIED BY ALBERTO BALTRA, REMAIN MORE OF LESS ON THE SIDELINES; A MORE ACTIVIST GROUP (REPRESENTED BY EXILED EUGENIO VELASCO, YOUTH LEADERS, AND JUAN FIGUEROA) CHAFE AT BOSSAY'S INSISTENCE ON RUNNING ALL ASPECTS OF THE PARTY'S BUSINESS. THE LATER WOULD PREFER TO SEE BOSSAY RETIRE TO THE SIDE-

LINES A LA EDUARDO FREI AND LET NEW BLOOD TAKE OVER
DAILY LEADERSHIP. NONETHELESS, BOSSAY REMAINS THE GLUE
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HOLDING THE GROUPS TOGETHER.

9. COMMENT: BOSSAY IS AN OLD TROOPER AND HAS HELD TOGETHER A SHADOW POLITICAL ORGANIZATION INCLUDING A YOUTH WING AND A LABOR LEADER OR TWO (E.G. TUCAPEL JIMENEZ). BUT THE GROUP LOOKS PARTICULARLY FRAIL NOW THAT THE POLITICANS ARE WAKING UP AGAIN. READING BETWEEN THE LINES OF BOSSAY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS EUROPEAN JAUNT AND HIS ACID OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE PR CEN, THE PIR/PSD SEES ITS SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PDC COMING UNDER STRAIN AND ITS POTENTIAL EUROPEAN SUPPORTERS STILL LOCKED INTO A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE LEFT. DEMOCRATIC RADICALS ASSOCIATED WITH GENERAL LEIGH'S CAMP SHARE BOSSAY'S GOAL AS FAR AS THE ORIENTATION OF THE SI GOES, BUT THEY ARE MORE SUSPICIOUS OF THE PDC. PERHAPS DEMANDS BY BOTH THESE RADICAL OFFSHOOTS STRENGTHENED BRANDT'S HAND. PER REF C, LONDON REPORTS BRANDT TOOK THE LEAD IN HAVING THE SI OFFICIALLY DISASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM THE SULE/PARRA VISIT TO THE US.

10. WE FOUND SOME IRONY IN BOSSAY'S ASSERTIONS THAT HIS COMPETITION WAS OPPORTUNISTIC. GIVEN THE TWISTING EVOLUTION OF THE PIR/PSD, BOSSAY FINDS THAT LABEL FREQUENTLY PINNED ON HIM. BUT HIS PRAGMATICISM MAY SERVE THE PIO/PSD DURING THE JOCKEYING ACCOMPANYING AND EASING ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY. JUST MAYBE THE PIR/PSD WILL HAVE A ROLE IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS.
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